

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 CU-02 SSO-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1377
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMUSMISSION NATO 1645

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 4560

STATE FOR EUR/RPM, EUR SOV

FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE MEETING: JULY 6

SUMMARY: MORNING PLENARY ADJOURNED EARLY IN ORDER TO PERMIT DELEGATIONS TO CONCENTRATE ON INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS AFTER HEARING SOVIET STATEMENT CHARGING THAT JULY 5 DRAFTING GROUP HAD TAKEN BACKWARD STEPS AND THAT AGREEMENT ON AGENDA AND ORGANIZATIONAL MODALITIES WOULD REQUIRE ACCEPTANCE OF MAIN OUTLINES OF SOVIET PROPOSALS. INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS, WHICH CONTINUED IN AFTERNOON, INVOLVE NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (NNA) EFFORT TO DEVELOP FURTHER COMPROMISE "NON-PAPER" ON AGENDA AND ORGANIZATION. END SUMMARY.

1. WITH U.S. IN CHAIR IN PLENARY FOR FIRST TIME, SOVIET REP (VORONTOV) OPENED JULY 6 SESSION WITH STRONG, BUT MODERATELY WORDED STATEMENT WHICH MADE FOLLOWING POINTS: MEETINGS WERE PROCEEDING CONSTRUCTIVELY AND HAD BEEN NEAR AGREEMENT
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UNTIL PREVIOUS DAY'S DRAFTING GROUP WHEN NEW IDEAS AND FORMULATIONS WERE INTRODUCED WHICH MOVED WORK BACK TO BEGINNING. (THIS IS REFERENCE TO NEW FRG AND UK SUGGESTIONS REPORTED REFTEL.) THESE NEW IDEAS AND FORMULATIONS ARE NOT COMPROMISES; THEY OFFER NO BASIS FOR HOLDING MAIN MEETING. AN AGENDA WHICH WOULD DISTORT PARAGRAPH 2(A) OF FOLLOW-UP SECTION OF FINAL ACT IS NOT ACCEPTABLE.

THE AGENDA MUST BE FORMULATED DIRECTLY FROM THIS KEY PARAGRAPH, AS SOVIETS ORIGINALLY PROPOSED. ON ORGANIZATION, THE PLENARY MUST CONTINUE FROM BEGINNING TO END OF MAIN MEETING. THOSE WORKING GROUPS WHICH MIGHT BE ESTABLISHED SHOULD CARRY OUT A THOROUGHLY AUXILIARY ROLE. ANY OTHER ORGANIZATION WOULD PLACE CART BEFORE HORSE AND BE UNACCEPTABLE TO SOVIET DELEGATION. SOVIET DEL IS READY FOR COMPROMISES, BUT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE DECISIONS ARE POSSIBLE ONLY IF ALL DELS HAVE CONSTRUCTIVE, BUSINESSLIKE SPIRIT AND GOOD WILL.

2. MALTESE REP RESPONDED THAT HE DID NOT SHARE SOVIET CHARACTERIZATION OF PREVIOUS DAY'S WORK BUT THOUGHT THAT IN CIRCUMSTANCES IT WOULD BE BEST TO ADJOURN FORMAL SESSION AND MOVE TO "FRIENDLY" INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS. POLAND AND GDR CHIMED IN WITH BRIEF STATEMENTS SUPPORTING SOVIETS AND AGREEING TO MALTESE SUGGESTION. AFTERNOON DRAFTING GROUP DECIDED TO CONTINUE INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS WITHOUT ANY DEL SEEKING TO MAKE FORMAL STATEMENT.

3. WHEN QUESTIONED DIRECTLY AND INFORMALLY, A SOVIET DEL STATED THAT VORONTSOV'S ACCUSATION WAS AIMED AT FRG AND UK STATEMENTS DURING JULY 5 DRAFTING GROUP MEETING (REFTEL). NEVERTHELESS, MANY HERE READ "U.S." INTO THE GENERAL SOVIET FEELING OF FRUSTRATION.
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4. NEWSMEN LATER REPORTED TO USDEL THAT SOVIET DEL PRESS OFFICER, WHEN QUESTIONED THIS MORNING ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR THE CONFERENCE, STATED THAT "ONE DELEGATION" WAS BLOCKING PROGRESS. REPEATED QUESTIONS EVINced STATEMENTS ABOUT INFLEXIBILITY, ETC., BUT NOT APPARENTLY THE NAME OF THE DELEGATION. NEWSMEN WHOM WE TALKED TO AND FRIENDLY DELEGATES INTERPRETED THE STATEMENT AS REFERRING TO THE U.S. WE QUESTIONED DEPUTY SOVIET DEL CHIEF CLOSELY. HE SAID THAT PRESS OFFICE MADE THE STATEMENT ONLY IN RESPONSE TO YUGOSLAV PRESS QUESTIONS AND WAS INSTRUCTED NOT NAME THE DELEGATION. "WE WOULD NEVER DO THAT," HE SAID. NEVERTHELESS, SOVIETS MAY HAVE CONVEYED FEELING THAT THEY BELIEVE U.S. IS TO BLAME.

5. COMMENT: WE HAVE NOT YET SEEN ANY PRESS REPORTS OF MEETING OR OF SOVIET PRESS CONFERENCE. PRESS INTEREST IN DAILY EVENTS HAS BEEN WANING, AND THIS STORY MAY NOT RECEIVE AS PROMINENT TREATMENT AS IT WOULD HAVE IN FIRST TWO WEEKS OF MEETING. IN ANY EVENT, IN OUR VIEW, SOVIET STATEMENT WAS TACTICAL MANEUVER WHICH SHOULD

NOT BE TAKEN TOO SERIOUSLY AT THIS STAGE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 4560

STATE FOR EUR/RPM, EUR SOV

FROM USDEL CSCE

6. SOVIETS WERE OBVIOUSLY DISAPPOINTED AT FAIRLY
BROAD AND SOLID ALIGNMENT THEY FACED DURING JULY 5 D CFT-

ING GROUP (REFTEL). THEY APPARENTLY FELT THEY HAD
BEEN MAKING PROGRESS TOWARD AN AGENDA WHICH WOULD BURY
IMPLEMENTATION NEAR BOTTOM OF 10 OR 11 ITEM LIST,
AS WELL AS TOWARD ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE WHICH WOULD
GIVE COMMITTEES ONLY NEGLIGIBLE ROLE. THEY MAY ALSO
HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY STORIES OVER HOLIDAY WEEDEND
ALLEGING DISUNITY IN NATO RANKS. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES,
WE SEE SOVIET TACTICS JULY 6 ESSENTIALLY AS EFFORT
TO DETERMINE WHETHER A BIT OF STONEWALLING COULD CAUSE
NNA TO CAVE AND AT LEAST SOME OF NATO ALLIES TO
SEPARATE THEMSELVES FROM U.S. THIS IS SAME TACTIC
SOVIETS TRIED JUNE 23. WHEN THEY WERE UNSUCCESSFUL
THAT TIME, THEY BACKED OFF AND TOOK OPTIMISTIC LINE
THAT PREPARATORY MEETING SHOULD FINISH WORK BY
JULY 15. THEIR PRESENT VARIANT SEEMS TO BE TO POINT
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TO APPROACH OF THAT ARTIFICIAL DEADLINE AND WAIT FOR CONCESSIONS TO COME IN. WE WILL CERTAINLY HEAR MORE BLUSTER OF THIS KIND FROM THE SOVIETS BEFORE THEY GIVEN THEIR MAXIMUM CONCESSIONS, AND GIVEN PRESS INTEREST, IT IS LIKELY THAT THESE OUTBURSTS WILL BE PUBLICIZED. IF WE WISH TO HAVE AN AGENDA AND ORGANIZATION FOR THE MAIN MEETING WHICH ARE SUITABLE TO ACHIEVEMENT OF OUR OBJECTIVES, WE SHOULD BE PREPARED FOR A NUMBER OF SUCH SOVIET STATEMENTS BEFORE THE FINAL COMPROMISES ARE REACHED. AT THE SAME TIME, WE SHOULD BEAR IN MIND THE NEED TO ARRIVE AT ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISES ON THE POINTS AT ISSUE IN ORDER TO CONCLUDE THE PREPARATORY MEETING SUCCESSFULLY AND MOVE ON TO THE MAIN MEETING. END COMMENT.

7. EVEN WITH TEMPORARY BREAKOFF OF FORMAL SESSIONS, HOWEVER, PREPARATORY MEETING IS NOT DEADLOCKED. NNA HAVE SHOWN US FIRST DRAFTS OF COMBINED AGENDA-ORGANIZATION NON-PAPER WHICH THEY ARE PREPARING. (WE WILL TRANSMIT TEXT AS SOON AS IT FIRMS UP.) AT THIS STAGE THEY ARE UNDECIDED WHETHER TO INTRODUCE THIS NON-PAPER IN NEXT FEW DAYS AS EFFORT TO GET DRAFTING GOING AGAIN OR WHETHER TO HOLD IT BACK AS POSSIBLE PACKAGE SOLUTION AT LATER STAGE. OUTLOOK IS FOR MORE WORK TO BE DONE IN CORRIDORS OVER NEXT FEW DAYS THAN IN FORMAL SESSIONS. NNA HAD ALREADY CONCLUDED BEFORE SOVIET PLENARY STATEMENT THAT THIS WAS BEST WAY OF PROCEEDING FOR TIME BEING. SHERER

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